226 Tibetan tribe on the shore of the lake from whose ter-
648 ritory they plan to operate, making him a present of the traditional ceremonial scarf of felicity and a cask of wine, some tobacco, and noodles. They are then given the chief's permission and the protection of the tribe.
[608] The men of each fishing expedition usually go to the same territory every year and become sworn brothers of the chief or of some important local nomad, in order to make sure that while they are camped by the lake they will be allowed to gather fuel and will have no animals stolen.

226 Each fisherman breaks a hole in the ice, and spreads a couple of sheep skins on which he sits crosslegged, a two-pronged fork in his hands, waiting for fish to come to the surface of the water. The fish is harpooned with the fork and thrown on the ice. The frozen fish are either carried to market, usually at the city of Hsining, by the Monguors themselves or sold to Muslim merchants who make up caravans of twenty or thirty mules or donkeys. These expeditions involve hard work and exposure to the bitter cold, but the business must be remunerative as many Monguors go year after year.

TRADE

463 In the territory inhabited by the Monguors trade,
563 transport, and small industries are mostly in the hands of Chinese and Muslims. The Muslims are an ener-
• 441 getic and enterprising people, even more hard work-
439 ing and indefatigable than other Chinese. They willingly engage in the arduous work of driving caravans of pack-mules and in running rafts and boats down the Hsining and Upper Yellow Rivers in all weathers. Most of the peddlars are also Muslims, who travel either with a pack on their backs or with a loaded donkey, wandering through the Monguor country from house to house, exchanging cloth, needles, thread, and other small wares for wool, skins, eggs, and grain. In the autumn, Muslim buyers collect sheep and oxen and drive them to Hsining in small herds.

There are very few Chinese peddlars, but the distilleries and flour and oil mills, which require money capital, are run by Chinese, and the Chinese monopolize the pork business, since the Muslims will have nothing to do with pigs. All through the year, and especially during the autumn, while the Muslims are buying up other livestock the Chinese butchers of the cities and towns send their agents into the Monguor villages to buy hogs. The Chinese merchants who do business on a bigger scale than the Muslim peddlars also send their representatives to pitch tents and display their wares at such large gatherings as the lama monastery festivals and the annual meetings of the Monguor clans.

441 Grain and oil seeds, being the main crops of the Monguors, are also the main commodities of trade. The conversion of grain into alcohol and of oil seeds into oil results in products of higher value in proportion to bulk and weight which can stand the cost of transporta-

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

tion to more distant markets that could not be reached by the unprocessed grain and seeds. These enterprises are, therefore, outlying Chinese businesses intermediate between the Monguor country and the Chinese-inhabited towns and cities. Wealthy Monguors, not confident of their own ability in trade, often invest their money in such Chinese enterprises; often, unfortunately, with the result that the Chinese partners get rich while the Monguors lose their money. Only a few Monguors, who are already well on the way toward becoming completely Chinese, venture into such enterprises as managing a small shop or buying and selling animals or wool and skins.

In the autumn, the Chinese managers of distilleries and oil mills make contracts with the Monguor farmers, the farmers undertaking to plant an agreed acreage with the crop required by the Chinese, and to sell the harvest at an agreed price. On the strength of this agreement, the Chinese buyer makes a cash advance to the Monguor farmer. Wheat that does not go to the distilleries is bought up by Muslim dealers. The wheat is measured at the Monguor farm with the buyers' own measure, draft animals are hired from the Monguors to bring the wheat to the river bank, and it is there loaded on rafts and floated down to Lanchow.

There are some mills that grind flour for local Monguor consumption, and for that of neighboring Mongol and Tibetan nomads, and Chinese cities. These mills are built along small streams. A vertical wooden wheel carries an endless chain of buckets. As the stream fills the lower buckets, the wheel turns; coming up over the wheel, the buckets empty into a chute, and the descending water turns the nether stone of the mill, while the upper stone remains fixed. The grindstones are so crudely grooved that the grain has to be milled three times. Professional grindstone makers cut the blue stone in the mountains, install the millstones at the mill, and visit the mills every month to cut fresh grooves in the stones. There are only a few mills with horizontal power-wheels.

In the profitable business of buying livestock to be slaughtered in such cities as Hsining and Lanchou, the Muslims have a virtual monopoly of buying cows and oxen, the Chinese have a monopoly in buying pigs, and both Muslim and Chinese butchers buy sheep. The most important season is the autumn, when the animals are in the best condition. Sheep are herded slowly for a journey of ten days or more to Lanchou, in order to prevent them from going lame and losing weight. Pigs are also driven slowly, each batch of pigs being handled by three men, moving only six or eight miles a day and sometimes taking a month to reach market. Ahead of the pigs is a man on foot driving a donkey loaded with dried peas and a long basket. Every mile or two the donkey is halted, some of the peas are poured into the basket, and enough is fed to the pigs to whet their appetites and keep the fat animals waddling after the

donkey for the next mile or two. The pigs travel relatively well because they have not been confined and fed in sties all their lives, but have been grazed in the open around the Monguor villages. The same men who buy pigs also buy hog bristles, in which there used to be a large trade. The bristles were sent all the way to Tientsin on the coast of North China and shipped from there to Europe and America for making brushes.

The wool and skin merchants of Hsining also send their buyers into the Monguor country. All of this buying is done directly in the homes of families that have small amounts to sell, with the result that Monguor children, girls as well as boys, grow up fully acquainted with the fluctuation of market prices and the long-drawn-out processes of bargaining. Much of the buying in small quantities is done by the peddlars, especially Muslims. They deal largely in things needed by women, such as needles, colored thread, cotton cloth, cheap jewelry, pepper, and sugar and other condiments, and for the men tobacco and pipes. These things are usually not sold for cash but bartered for eggs and small quantities of grain, wool, or skins. It is customary for Monguor families to provide such peddlars with a place to sleep over night, in return for a small present made to the women of the family; and as most of the bargaining is done by the women, the peddlars are the "radio" of the country, spreading news and interesting gossip as they travel.

Buying and selling are done on a larger scale at fairs. Two or three times a year every important monastery holds special religious performances, around which there spring up markets and fairs. Chinese merchants, after paying a fee to the monastery or the T'u-ssu, pitch their tents and display their merchandise. The fair spreads all over the valley around the monastery. Spades and plows and all kinds of farm implements are for sale, in addition to cotton cloth, satin and silk, jewelry, dishes and crockery, cooking kettles, spices, tobacco and pipes, wine, fruit, saddles and saddle rugs. Chinese quack doctors sell their medicines and profess to diagnose diseases. To these fairs the Monguors bring their horses, cows, sheep, and pigs for sale.

Some of these fairs are especially celebrated and attract Monguors and Tibetans from considerable distances. In the afternoons there are horse races and wrestling matches, singing and dancing and merrymaking, and often, when there has been too much drinking, fights between clans and villages.

A special activity of young Monguor men is the long-distance caravan trade with Tibet, reminiscent of the medieval overland trade in Europe between Italy, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. The big men of the caravan trade going into the interior of Tibet and as far as Lhasa are Chinese merchants. Small merchants, with perhaps only a load or two of goods, attach themselves to these caravans and so do Tibetan lamas and lamas from the Monguor country and from

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415 313 planks. Some of these planks are cut to the standard measurements for making coffins, and sold in the towns. Another woodworking trade is the making of pack saddles for donkeys, mules, and oxen, which are sold either in the towns or at fairs.

THE CITY BECOMES THE CENTER OF ECONOMIC LIFE

177 369 At the end of this chapter it is interesting to consider from what center originated the new economic life of the Monguors, how it developed, and what were the repercussions on the social organization of the Monguor clans, as they evolved away from pastoralism. For nearly four centuries the economic life of the Monguors was fraught with insecurity and calamities, and deprived of the peace that is the first requirement for social welfare. Indeed the economic conditions of the Monguors and of the whole country improved only when the Ch'ing dynasty secured peace, and this improvement depended on the vitality of commerce. No trade of real importance had been able to coexist with insecurity on the roads, since trade requires normal and regular transportation facilities and a safe access to the outlets of commerce. For the center of a developed economy a city is required. In this case the city was Hsining, with its group of professional merchants from all over China, associated in guilds according to the Chinese custom.

177 369 632 [487] The prefectural city of Hsining is advantageously situated on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou, the capital of the province. Hsining is also on the road from Peking to Lhasa and India. It was the seat of the political and military administration of the country, and the merchants settled there because it was a fortified and garrisoned city. Under the older order in China important concerns maintained their headquarters in major cities and sent their agents to less secure secondary towns and villages to open branch offices.

177 369 441 467 The merchants of the city monopolized the whole commerce of the country. They sent out their agents to buy up as much grain, oil, and wine (alcohol) as possible; they bought the products collected by peddlers; their agents pitched their tents at lamasery fairs and festivals and at clan diets, to provide people with groceries, cloth, silk, and hardware. The small shopkeepers scattered over the country bought their wares from the wholesale merchants in Hsining. The guilds enjoyed the privileges of trading with the nomad caravans, which had to stop and unload at their inns in order to sell their merchandise, and to buy through them the things they wanted, such as flour, oil, and cloth.

Farmers were not allowed to sell flour, oil, and other products directly to the caravans. They had to go through the guild of the *Hsieh chia*, those who controlled the "rest places." Thus the guild alone controlled the trade in the high-priced furs and other articles carried

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177 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like
369 Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities
441 and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to
467 Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the
369 Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during
441 centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious ex-
651 existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 At the end of this study of the origin and organization
175 of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

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seems to justify and to explain historically my former hypothesis: "It seems a reasonable inference that a fair number of the subjects in the Monguor clans are Turks, but not all of them Shat'o Turks" (Monguors I: 54). "A majority of Turkish elements is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by the *t'u-ssu*" (Monguors I: 55). That many Uighur Turks are encountered in the clans of the Monguor Shat'o seems normal, for tribes of Turkish origin must have preferred to live together. The fact that all of Huangchung had been occupied by T'u-fan Tibetans since 629 explains that T'u-fan tribes preferred to join the T'u-fan of Hsining rather than to be moved among the Tang-hsiang tribes of Hsi Hsia.

MOSLEM TRADERS IN HSINING

The history of Chiossulo points to the problem of the first appearance of Moslems in Huangchung. The *Sung Shih* (492: 13*a*) notes explicitly "that Hsining Uighurs went to Kao Ch'ang along Kokonor and that traders from all the kingdoms of Central Asia came to do business." That the Hsining Uighurs were very well acquainted with those of Turkistan is no wonder, even as the T'u-fan of Hsining were acquainted with those of Kao Ch'ang, for Chiossulo was born in Kao Ch'ang. However, traders did not travel only from Hsining to the oasis east of Tarim, but they traveled also along Kokonor to the oasis of west Tarim, Khotan, Yarkand, etc., and further into India. This last route was already well known in the sixth century A.D.[21] and lamas fleeing the persecution of Buddhism in Lhasa came over Khotan to Hsining. Since 943 the Karakhanids,[22] of Turkish origin, as were the Uighurs, had founded petty realms in the oasis of West Tarim. Their chief had been converted to Islam in 960 and forced his subjects to become Moslems. These Turks, being as sturdy traders as the Uighurs, were very cognizant of the booming trade of Hsining, through which territory they traveled bringing tribute to China,[23] and relations existed between Khotan and the house of Chiossulo itself, whose son Tung-chen had as a concubine a lady born in Khotan, and had adopted her son A li ku and appointed him as his successor in 1086.

Traders, according to the time-honored custom practiced all over China, were federated in guilds, protected by the local officials. They had their own business quarters, their own caravansaries and their permanent agents caring for the interests of the trade. Most of them had their families with them, and it seems very probable that during the booming period of 1038–1086, Moslem traders from West Tarim appeared for the very first time in Huangchung. No wonder that Marco Polo two centuries later noted explicitly the presence of Moslems in Hsining during the Mongol period in

[21] Chavannes, *op. cit.* 6: 333, 341.
[22] Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.
[23] *Sung Shih* 490: 7*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 501.

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